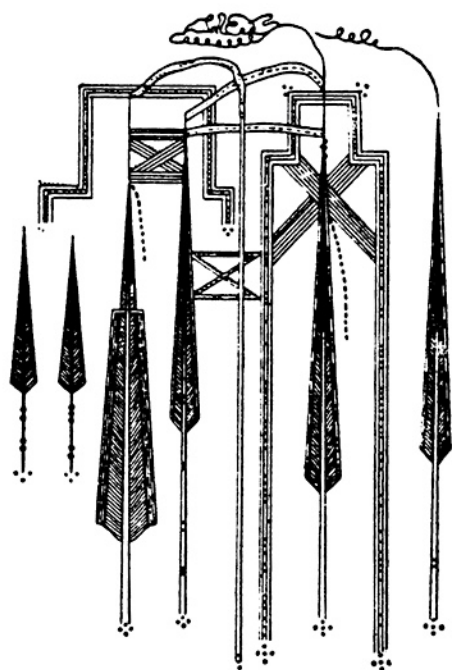


# *Archaeology and Language IV*

*Language Change and Cultural Transformation*



Edited by Roger Blench and Matthew Spriggs

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Language change and cultural transformation

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*Elam: a bridge between Ancient Near East and  
Dravidian India?*

VÁCLAV BLAŽEK

**ABBREVIATIONS**

AA	Afroasiatic
Akk	Akkadian
Arab	Arabic
Aram	Aramaic
Berb	Berber
C	Central
Ch	Chadic
Cush	Cushitic
Dr	Dravidian
E	East
Eg	Egyptian (BD Book of the Dead, D 18/19 18/19 Dynasty, <i>plus</i> Gr Greek period, M/N/OK Middle/New/Old Kingdom, Med Medical texts, Pyr Pyramid texts),
El	Elamite A Achaemenid m middle n new o old
H	Highland
Hbr	Hebrew
IE	Indo-European
L	Lowland
N	North
NP	personal name
OSA	Old South Arabian
Ph	Phoenician

S	South
Som	Somali
Sum	Sumerian
Syr	Syrian
Ug	Ugaritic
W	West

## ELAMITE LANGUAGE AND SCRIPT

The first certain attestation of the Elamite language is from the twenty-third century BC. The so-called ‘Treaty of Naram-Sin’, written in cuneiform script, was concluded between Naram-Sin (2254–2218), a successor of Rimuš, the son of Sargon of Agade (2334–2279), and Hita, the ninth king of Awan, against their common enemies, the Qutians (Hinz 1964:64; Steve 1992:4). Hita’s successor, Puzur (alias Kutik)—Inšušinak, the last of twelve kings of Awan (around 2200 BC), developed Linear Elamite (Proto-Elamite B=monumental) script, today known from nineteen inscriptions of the twenty-third century BC. The creation of the script can be explained as a reaction against the centuries-old cultural and occasionally political domination of Elam by Mesopotamia. The content of one of the inscriptions (A) is known thanks to a parallel Akkadian translation and represents a key to the decipherment of the script. Although the results and their application for the interpretation of other texts are not unambiguous, the language is certainly Old Elamite (Hinz 1969; Meriggi 1969a and 1971, 184–220).

The Linear Elamite script developed from the Proto-Elamite script, known from around 1,400 inscriptions relating to economic transactions found especially in Susa (3100–2900 BC). The Linear Elamite script, with 103 known, mostly syllabic, signs, represents a simplification of the older, pictographic, Proto-Elamite script, with at least 400 signs (Meriggi 1969b:156 and 1971:185, 193–205; Parpola 1994:35).

The language of the Proto-Elamite script is not known, but there is no reason to suppose it is any language other than Elamitic. The oldest tablets with Proto-Elamite pictograms are from level 16 at Susa (3100 BC). Two ‘numerical tablets’ appear at level 18 (3300 BC)—contemporaneously with Uruk IV in Sumer, where the first discovery of writing was probably realised. This fundamental borrowing of the idea of writing (nothing other than the numerical symbols and some ten signs—see Vajman 1972; Meriggi 1969b) has been connected with so called ‘First Conjunction’ (3300 BC)—the first wave of cultural expansion of the Sumerians.

In this period, three sites on the periphery of Mesopotamia were colonized:

- 1 Habuba Khabira on the Euphrates in Northern Syria;
- 2 Godin Tepe in the Zagros mountains of NW Iran;
- 3 Susa on the Mesopotamian alluvium in SW Iran (Lamberg-Karlovsky 1986a:195).

In the ‘Second Conjunction’ (3000–2900 BC), the Proto-Elamites repeat the pattern of the Sumerians during the First Conjunction: they colonize foreign areas. Within the

century after 3000 BC, the sites of Tepe Sialk, Tal-i-Malian, Tepe Yahya and, ca. 2900, Shahr-i Sokhta in Iranian Seistan are colonized by the Proto-Elamites from Susiana (Lamberg-Karlovsky 1986a:197, 199; 1986b). The latter locality became a large urban complex on more than 100 hectares. It played an intermediary role connecting Elam, cultural centres in Turkmenistan (Geoksyur, Namazga III), Afghanistan (Mundigak) and the Indus valley (Parpola 1994:17). The famous Proto-Indus script probably has its origin (or at least inspiration) in some later variety of the Proto-Elamite script (Fairsevis 1992:228; Parpola 1994:53; Meriggi 1977 on the inscription from Shahr-i Shokta).

The question of the genetic affiliation of Elamite remains unresolved. Many scholars have noted the remarkable similarities between Elamite and Dravidian, especially in morphology. The comprehensive study of McAlpin (1981) on this topic must now be completed and corrected (see Appendix 1). The relatively poor results of Elamite-Dravidian comparison (especially in the core lexicon) contrast with the more attractive comparison of Elamite to Afroasiatic (see Appendix 3). The hypothesis of a closer Elamite-Afroasiatic relationship can be supported at least indirectly by archaeological evidence. Before 3000 BC, there are only two periods when the material cultures of Khuzistan (Elam) and Sumer are closely comparable:

- 1 Late Uruk expanding in Susiana during the 'First Conjunction' (see above);
- 2 Choga Mami Transitional (Iraq) expanding at the site of Choga Sefid (phase 5) in the Deh Luran plain (Iran) sometime in the sixth millennium BC.

The hypothesis of a cultural expansion is based on the introduction of certain plants and animals apparently not previously attested in Khuzistan: domesticated cattle and pig and various hybrid cereals, including hexaploid wheat, indicating that irrigation (attested in Choga Mami in the sixth millennium BC) was also introduced into Khuzistan at this time. It has been noted that a certain type of mud-brick also appears in Khuzistan at the same time. These simultaneous introductions have been interpreted as signifying an actual population movement into Khuzistan (Oates 1991:24–25).

## SUMERIAN LANGUAGE AND SCRIPT

The Sumerian language was spoken by the people who lived in the alluvial plains of the lower Euphrates and Tigris at least from Uruk III, especially the Jemdet Nasr period (3100–2900 BC) onwards, but very probably also in the Uruk IV period (3300–3100 BC) and even earlier (Parpola 1994:30–31). During these periods, the first pictographic script was developed and the idea was exported to Elam and Egypt (3100 BC?). A carved flint knife from Upper Egypt (Gebel el- Araq) depicts on its handle a man in Sumerian dress conquering two lions, a common Mesopotamian motif, and (on the reverse) a naval battle in which Sumerian-type ships defeat Egyptian ships (Parpola 1994:35–36; for the Late Uruk presence in Egypt see also Zarins 1992:71).

It is usually held that the Sumerians were not indigenous to Mesopotamia. Höyrup cites some authoritative conclusions:

The fundamental observation is that no Sumerian etymology for the names of

the oldest cities can be constructed, and that a large number of words of cultural importance (tools, products and professions) seem not to fit the normal phonology of Sumerian. They are bisyllabic, which is rare for Sumerian roots, and often contain a consonantal cluster (Landsberger; Salonen). More about pre-Sumerian toponyms see in Appendix 2. (p. 63, fn. 82)... The existence of entries in the Mesopotamian lexical texts with known syllabic values but with no corresponding logographic values indicates originally non-Sumerian words, which were perpetuated in the Sumerian writing, but not in the Sumerian language (Gelb).

(Höystrup 1992 [94]:60–61)

Speiser tried to identify the pre-Sumerian substrate language with Elamite, an idea that has some support. Among Elamite personal names the last two syllables are frequently repeated: Šilhaha, Kunene, Hilulu, Kinunu, Nabubu, etc. (Meriggi 1971:182–183). These forms are interpreted as ‘Kosenamen’ by Hinz and Koch. A similar pattern is typical for some Sumerian divine names: <sup>d</sup>Bunene, <sup>d</sup>Zababa, <sup>d</sup>Kubaba, <sup>d</sup>Inana, <sup>d</sup>Igigi, <sup>d</sup>Aruru. Diakonoff (1981:48) (his examples are quoted here) calls the source ‘Banana-language’. The same pattern was a productive way of forming diminutives in Egyptian (*ḥfl.t* ‘lizard’, *ḥdq* ‘rat’, *ḥwrr* ‘divine calf’, *ḥpr* ‘scarabeus’) and Berber, e.g. Shilh *asēlmam* ‘eel’ vs. *aslē* ‘fish’ etc. (Vycichl 1961:250).

Höystrup (1992 [94]:34) presented the revolutionary hypothesis that Sumerian developed from a mid-or late fourth-millennium Uruk creole. The idea of a local melting-pot is doubtless fruitful and does not exclude an external origin for at least one component in this glottogenetic process. The preceding opinions agree with archaeological data indicating a large population growth in southern Mesopotamia during the Early Uruk period (3600 BC)—very probably as the result of immigration into this region (Lamberg-Karlovsky 1986a:196).

New hypotheses concerning the genetic affiliation of Sumerian have been formulated more recently. Boisson (1989) has collected lexical parallels between Sumerian and Dravidian (see also Appendix 2). Blažek and Bengtson (1995) include Sumerian in a macrophylum they call ‘Dene-Caucasian’ together with North Caucasian, Yeniseian, Burushaski, Sino-Tibetan, etc., following Hüsing, Bouda, Braun, Christian. Militarev (1984a and p.c.) presents Sumerian-Afroasiatic lexical parallels that cannot be explained as Semitic borrowings.

### AFROASIATIC, ELAMITE AND SUMERIAN AND THE QUESTION OF THE AFROASIATIC HOMELAND

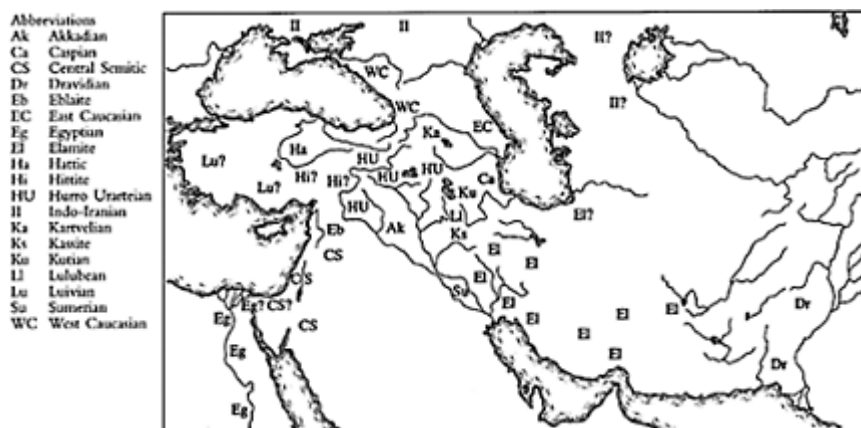
The following language families are usually included in Afroasiatic (=Semitic-Hamitic/Hamito-Semitic=Erythraic=Lisramic etc.): Semitic, Cushitic, Omotic, Egyptian, Berber and Chadic (see also Blench, this volume). Their common origin is generally accepted, but their internal classification and the site of their common homeland remains disputed. Two basic hypotheses for a localization of the Afroasiatic homeland have been presented: (1) northeast Africa and (2) west Asia. Diakonoff (1991:12–13) provides a



valuable overview of these alternatives. The main reason for rejecting an Asiatic homeland (besides an *a priori* rejection of Biblical tradition) is the fact that all branches of Afroasiatic except Semitic are/were spoken in Africa; but it is doubtful whether the question of a homeland can be solved mechanically in this way. There are many examples of a similar or even more disproportionate dispersal (Latin and Romance, Arabic, Indonesian, Swahili, English, Turkic). Whilst not rejecting *a priori* the African hypothesis, the following arguments appear to support an Asiatic homeland:

- 1 The neolithic character of the Proto-Afroasiatic cultural lexicon. The only area where the 'Neolithic Revolution' starts before the disintegration of Afroasiatic (ca. eleventh-tenth millennium BC) is its primary area: the Fertile Crescent in the Near East. Militarev and Šnirel'man (1984) and Militarev *et al.* (1988) identify the Proto-Afroasiatic ethnos with the early neolithic Natufian culture from the Syro-Palestinian region (eleventh-ninth millennium BC). This agrees with the fact that Egyptian cereals are of Asiatic origin (Diakonoff 1981:45).
- 2 The zoological lexicon reconstructible for Afroasiatic reflects the wild fauna not of northeast Africa but of the Near East (e.g. elephant, hippo, but not giraffe or rhino—cf. Blažek 1994).
- 3 Very early mutual borrowings between Afroasiatic (not only Semitic) and northern Caucasian (Militarev and Starostin 1984, 1994).
- 4 The Afroasiatic stratum in Sumerian (§2), representing perhaps one originally independent dialect of Afroasiatic, later lost in the 'melting pot' of Sumerian glottogenesis (Diakonoff 1981:66; Militarev 1984a, 1989; Kovalev and Militarev 1994).
- 5 An exclusive Cushitic—South Semitic/dialectal Arabic isoglosses reflecting probably a Cushitic substratum of Arabian peninsula (Militarev 1984b:18–19; Belova 1989).

More controversially, the Nostratic hypothesis proposes a genetic relationship between many of the language phyla of the Old World (Afroasiatic, Kartvelian, Indo-European, Uralic and Yukaghir, Altaic, Dravidian, Elamite; probably also Chukchi-Kamchatkan, Nivkh and Eskaleut). The most natural 'epicentre' of such a primary disintegration would again be the Near East. Preliminary estimates of the time of divergence of Proto-Nostratic are not very different from the hypothetical time-depth of Afroasiatic (thirteenth millennium BP). Starostin—an author of this rather paradoxical result—explains this by a dichotomy of Afroasiatic vs. 'Micro-Nostratic' (i.e. Nostratic minus Afroasiatic). A modified version is presented by Greenberg, who postulates a Eurasiatic macrophylum consisting of the same language families as Nostratic minus Afroasiatic, Kartvelian, Dravidian and Elamite. Greenberg proposes that these languages have a closer relationship and suggests remote genetic links to his Eurasiatic. The principal authors of the Nostratic hypothesis, Illič-Svityč and Dolgopolsky, maintain a border between Western Nostratic phyla, characterized by apophony (Afroasiatic, Indo-European, Kartvelian) and Eastern Nostratic phyla with stable vocalism (for more detailed information see Blažek 1992b:82–84).



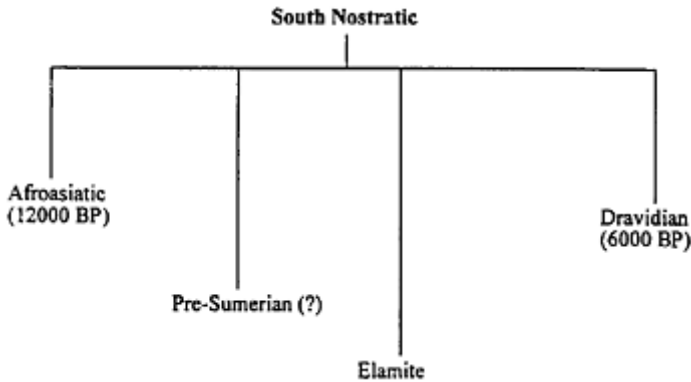
**Figure 2.1** The distribution of known languages

*Source:* Diakonoff 1985:39; Gragg *apud* Parpola 1994:127

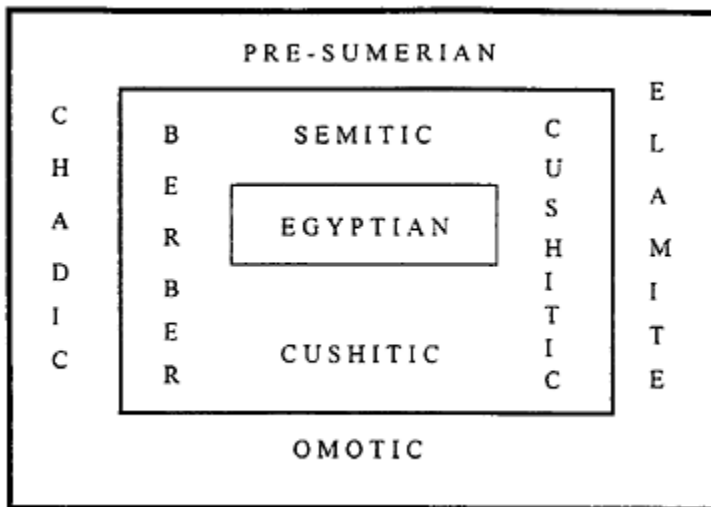
## CONCLUSION

Our present knowledge does not permit any definitive conclusions, but models can be formulated and tested in future research. Two possible schema are presented here to explain the cognates identified in the appendices. The position of Elamite could be represented as a bridge connecting Afroasiatic and Dravidian (Figure 2.2), although the Elamite-Afroasiatic relationship seems to be closer than the Elamite-Dravidian one (cf. Appendix 3 vs. 1).

An alternative, but not diametrically opposed, scheme is depicted in Figure 2.3. Elamite and pre-Sumerian represent here peripheral dialects of an Afroasiatic continuum comparable with Chadic or Omotic. The central position of Egyptian correlates with a relatively high rapidity in a development of its morphology (e.g. the loss of a prefixal conjugation), typical for a centre of any dialectal continuum in comparison with more conservative non-central dialects (Semitic, Cushitic, Berber). Refining these models depends crucially on further work on the internal structure of Afroasiatic, a topic that has recently become highly controversial with the publication of two very different reconstructions (Ehret 1995; Orel and Stolbova 1995; see also Blench, this volume).



**Figure 2.2** Tree model showing the place of Elamite  
*Source:* Blažek



**Figure 2.3** Continuum model of the place of Elamite  
*Source:* Blažek

## APPENDIX 1: ELAMITE AND DRAVIDIAN

A hypothesis of the Elamite-Dravidian relationship based especially on morphological comparisons has had numerous proponents (Norris, Caldwell, Hüsing, Trombetti, Bork, Diakonoff, Vacek, McAlpin). The most detailed study of Elamite-Dravidian connections was presented in a series of papers and summarized in a monograph by McAlpin (1981). Besides some promising cognates, he presents several semantically or phonetically questionable parallels, including evidently incorrect comparisons based on erroneous interpretations of Elamite words, such as:

- a. El(m) *hun* ‘water’ (König 1965:190; correctly probably ‘light’—see HK 717)  
 Dr \**u*<sup>¶</sup>—‘to drink, eat a meal’ (DEDR 600)—MA 145: El+Dr; Dr \**u*<sup>¶</sup>—has a promising cognate in ECush \**cun*- ‘to eat/drink’ (He 1978:100); or very probable borrowings from Sumerian or Akkadian:
  - b. El(m) *ukku* ‘head, chief; on’ (HK 1210; cf. Sum *ugu* ‘head, skull, upper side; on’—IK 1104; perhaps Akk *ukku*m glossed SAG-SUHUR.SUHUR—see AHW 1405—has the same origin)  
 Dr \**uk(a)*- ‘to ascend, rise, jump up’ (DEDR 559; MA 95: El+Dr), but Kolami *cok*- ‘to climb’, Parji *cokk*- id., *cotip*- ‘to raise’ (DEDR 2828) signalize probably the initial \**c*-;
  - c. El(m) *upat*, *upatta* ‘brick’ (HK 1240; cf. Akk *ur(u)bātu* ‘coping stone’—AHw 1436)  
 Dr \**uppar*- ‘bricklaying, plastering’ (DEDR 626, 628; MA 96: El+Dr).
- The new Elamite lexicon (HK) suggests further cognates:
- d. El(n) *ulkina* ‘weapon’ (HK 1218), ‘reed arrow’? (Bork)  
 Dr \**alaku* ‘blade of a weapon, head of an arrow’ (DEDR 237) cf. AA: CChadic: Mandara *ɔlka*, Gisiga *helek*, Mafa *leked*, Glavda *laagha*, Margi *laga* ‘bow’ (Lukas 1970:30);
  - e. El(o) *ik* ‘votive gift’ (HK 746)  
 Dr \**ik*- ‘to give’ (DEDR 416);
  - f. El(n) *kutu* ‘cattle’, (A) *kiti* ‘ox, calf, ass and cattle, foal of ass’ (HK 489, 548)  
 Dr \**kō*<sup>¶</sup>-*ay* ‘bull, cow’ (DEDR 2199) and \**kū*<sup>¶</sup>-*ay* ‘cow’ (DEDR 1886); cf. Sum *gud* ‘bull, steer, cattle’ (IK 367) which can be a source of El words;
  - g. El(o) *kun(n)a* ‘hair’ (HK 513)  
 Dr \**kūntal* ‘hair’ (DEDR 1892)—a compound; the second component is \**tal*-*ay* ‘head’ (DEDR 3103); cf. also Dr \**kunka*<sup>¶</sup>*i* ‘hair/crest of bird’ (DEDR 1634);
  - h. El(A) *maka/i*- ‘to consume, digest’ (HK 861–2)  
 Dr \**mookk*- ‘to eat/drink’ (DEDR 5127);
  - i. El(A) \**nar*- in *naranda*, *narante/i*, *narada*, *nara(na)te* ‘daily’ (HK 991) besides *na(n)* ‘day’ (HK 967, 968), compared by MA 103 with Dr \**nā*<sup>¶</sup> ‘day’ (DEDR 3656) (having closer cognates in AA: ECush: Som *nal* ‘light’/ EChadic: Ndam *nelnel* ‘day’)  
 Dr \**ner*- ‘sun, day, time’ (DEDR 3774);
  - j. El(m) *nu* ‘a sort of corn (barley?)’ (HK 1004)  
 Dr \**nū* ‘sesamum’ (DEDR 3720) and/or \**nuva*<sup>¶</sup>-*ay* ‘Italian millet, panic seed’ (DEDR 3712); cf. also Sum *nu(mun)* ‘seed, offspring’ (IK 771, 777);
  - k. El(n) *piti* ‘vessel’ (HK 224–5)  
 Dr \**pu*<sup>¶¶</sup>*i* ‘(earthen) vessel’ (DEDR 4265A);
  - l. El(o) *ten* ‘sweetness, kindness’ (HK 305)  
 Dr \**tē*<sup>¶</sup>/*\*tīn* ‘honey’, cf. \**tī*—‘sweet’ (DEDR 3268);
  - m. El(A) *dud(d)u* ‘foal’ (HK 345), ‘(camel) calves’ (H 102)  
 Dr \**tū*<sup>¶</sup>-/\**tu*<sup>¶¶</sup> ‘calf’ (DEDR 3378).

## APPENDIX 2: SUMERIAN AND DRAVIDIAN

Most Sumerian-Dravidian lexical parallels (such as those in Boisson 1989), including the oldest Sumerian toponyms with etymologies drawn from Dravidian (Fährnrich), can be supplemented by Afroasiatic data (Militarev sees in them an influence of pre-Semitic Afroasiatic substratum on Sumerian):

- n. Sum *Buranun(a)*, Akk *Purattum* ‘Euphrates’ (IK 157; Edzard *et al.* 1977:208) El(n) *Pirin* ‘river name, probably Karun in Susiana’ (HK 209)
  - Dr \**pu*<sup>h</sup>-*ay* ‘river’ (DEDR 4318; Fährnrich 1981:91: Sum<Dr); Note: Sum *Idigna*, Akk *Idiqlat* ‘Tigris’ has a hopeful etymology in the Sum compound \**idi-gina* ‘ranning river’ (Aubright and Lambdin 1970:148).
- o. Sum *Uri* ‘a city from south Sumer’, *uru* ‘city’ (IK 1137)
  - Dr \**ūr* ‘village, town, city’ (DEDR 752; Fährnrich 1981:91) or Dr \**u*<sup>h</sup>*i* ‘place, site, side’ (DEDR 684)
    - ? El \**mur*-/\**wur*-?/: (o) *mur* ‘(some)where’, *murut* (g.) ‘the earth’, *murun* ‘earth’ (HK 952, 954, 964; MA 106: El+Dr)
    - ? AA \**war*-/\**wur*->ECush: Oromo *warra* ‘family, kin’, Arbore *wari* ‘house-hold’; Chadic: (W) Hausa *wūrū* ‘place’, (C) Gabin *wúnre* ‘town’, Muturua *urhai* ‘Dorf, Makeri *worɔ* ‘village’, (E) Dangla *wéré*, Migama *wèré* ‘place’, Sumrai *wóram* ‘kin’; ? Eg(OK) *w* (<\**w*3?) ‘district, region’ (EG I: 243; Takács p.c. Eg+El) and/or (Pyr) *i3.t* (<\**i*u3.t<\**i*urt<\**wur*-t?) ‘place’ (EG I: 26); Note: Hattic *fur(i)* /*wuri*?/ ‘land’ (Girbal 1986:65, 69, 129, 150, 167) can represent the same term reflecting the beginning of Near Eastern urban civilization.
- p. Sum *éri* ‘city’ (IK 278)
  - Dr \**a*<sup>h</sup>-*ay* ‘room of house’ (DEDR 322)
    - AA \**cayr*-/\**cary*->Sem: Ug *c<sup>r</sup>* ‘city’, Hbr *c<sup>r</sup>ir* id., OSA *c<sup>r</sup>* ‘castle’ (Segert 1984:196; Aistleitner 1965:241); ECush: Afar *c<sup>r</sup>ari* ‘house, tent’, Saho *c<sup>r</sup>arii* ‘family, house, kin’; ? Eg(MK) *c<sup>r</sup>.t* (<\**c*3.t) ‘chamber’, (late) *c* (<\**c*3?) ‘house’ (EG I: 160, 159; Takács p.c.).
- q. Sum *an* ‘heaven; high, up’ (IK 64)>Akk *Anu(m)* ‘God of heaven’ (AHw 55)//Dr \**a*<sup>h</sup> ‘upper part, above’ (DEDR 110; Boisson 1989:41: Sum+Dr)
  - ? AA: Sem: Akk *an(a)* ‘to, on’ (AHw 47); HECush \**hana* ‘over, above’ (Hudson 1989:109).
- r. Sum *é-ri-a* ‘deserted country, steppe, pasture-land’ (IK 254)
  - Dr \**ere*- ‘black soil’ (DEDR 820).
- s. Sum *gár* ‘cream’>Akk *garūm* ‘cream’ (AHw 282), cf. Sum *ga* ‘milk’
  - Dr \**ka*<sup>h</sup>- ‘to milk’ (DEDR 1385; Boisson 1989:43: Sum+Dr) AA \**kar*->Sem: Syr *kar<sup>e</sup>*- ‘beestings, colostrum, curdled milk’; Cush: (N) Beja *kar* ‘butter’; (E) Rendille *keéra* ‘fresh milk’; Berb: Ahaggar *a-kru* ‘curdled milk, curds’ (Militarev 1984a:#23: Sum+AA).
- t. Sum *nundum/n//Emesal šumdum* ‘lip’ (Schretter 1990:258)
  - Dr \**no*<sup>h</sup>*u*<sup>h</sup>—‘to kiss, caress’ (DEDR 3787)//\**cu*<sup>h</sup>*u*<sup>h</sup>—‘bill, lip, mouth’ (DEDR 2664; Boisson 1989:42: Sum+Dr)

AA: Omotic: Koyra *nunaa*, Chara *noonaa*, Gimira *noon*, Anfilo *noonoo*, Mocha *noono* ‘language, mouth, lip’.

u. Sum *sì* ‘to give’ (IK 866)

Dr \**cī*—‘to give’ (DEDR 2598; Boisson 1989:17: Sum+Dr)//AA \**say*->Sem: Ug *šy*, Hbr *šay* ‘gift’ (Aistleitner 1965:304); ECush: Som *sii*, Boni and Rendille *sīi* ‘to give’ (He 1978:95), Yaaku *-isε?ε* id.; ? Eg(old) *šsw* ‘compensation, salary, reward’, Copt *asu* ‘price’ (EG I: 131; Vy 1983:16; Takács p.c.: Eg+AA).

Some other cultural words appearing in Sumerian, Afroasiatic and Dravidian are discussed in Blažek and Boisson (1992). Separate Dravidian-Afroasiatic cognates are collected in Blažek (1992a).

### APPENDIX 3: ELAMITE-AFROASIATIC COMPARISONS

#### *Body parts and space orientation*

1. El(m) *el(t)* ‘eye’ (HK 396, 394)

AA \*?*il*-(*at*-) ‘eye’ (Greenberg 1963:56)>Cush \*?*il*-(*t*-) (Do 1973:144–145; Eh 1987:#326)

Eg(Pyr) *īr.t* (EG I:106)

Berb: Shilh *ti* <sup>†</sup><\**ta*-?*il*-*t*, pl. *al(le)n* Chadic: (C) Hidkala *īlī*, Alataghwa *ilyia*, Vizik *iri/īli*, Buduma *yīl*, Mandague ?*āl* (pl.)

Dr \**āli* ‘pupil of eye, eye ball’ (Zvelebil 1985a:658).

2. El(m) *buni* ‘heart’ (HK 234)

AA \**b[u]n*->? Sem: Akk *abunnatu(m)* ‘navel, umbilical cord’ (AHw 9) //Eg (Med) *bn.tj* (du.) ‘female breasts’ (EG I:457)//Chadic: (C) Gulfei *fēne*, Makari *fīne* ‘breast’.

3. El(m) *kassu* ‘horn’ (HK 409)

AA \**k*Vsw/y- ‘horn’ (Blažek 1989, #66)>Cush(N): Beja *koos* ‘horn; tooth’ Omot \**kusim* ‘horn’>Ubamer *qošma*, Dizi *usum*, etc.//Berb: Senhaja *a-qaššaw*, Matmata *qīš*, Harawa *kīišu* id.//Chadic: (C) Logone *kāāšú* id.

4. El(m) *kir*, (A) *kur* ‘hand’ (HK 469, 523, 529)

AA \**k*ar- ‘arm, shoulder’>Cush (E): Som *qarqar* ‘(upper part of) shoulder’ //Eg (MK)q<sup>c</sup>*h*>\**q3h* (?) ‘arm, shoulder’ (EG V:19); *h* is probably a body parts suffix, cf. *ibh* ‘tooth’, *b3h* ‘penis’, *dnh* ‘wing, leg’, *gmh.t* ‘lock’, *s3h* ‘toe’, *sdh* ‘calf (with foot)’, *sp<sup>h</sup>.t* ‘Rippenfleisch’—maybe identical with *h<sup>c</sup>* ‘body, flesh’ (EG III:37–38)//Berb: Shilh *īgīr*, pl. *īgariun* ‘shoulder’, cf. *tag<sup>o</sup>ur<sup>†</sup>*, pl. *tīgora<sup>†</sup>* ‘shoulderblade’.

5. El(A) *mat*, *madda* ‘with young’=‘trächtig’ (HK 855)

AA \**m[a]* <sup>†</sup>->Cush: (E) Afar *ma<sup>†</sup>a<sup>†</sup>* ‘uterus, womb’, cf. *Ma<sup>†</sup>*—‘to copulate’, Burji *ma<sup>†</sup>-iss-* (caus.) ‘to marry’ (Sa 1982:139)?//Berb: Ahaggar *temi<sup>†</sup>*- ‘uterus, womb’.

6. El(m) *pat* ‘foot; under’ (HK 111)

AA \**pVd*->? Sem: Akk *padānu* ‘way, path’, Mehri *awōf<sup>o</sup>d* ‘to look for a footprint, Arab *wafada* ‘to come, travel’//Eg(Med) *p3d*, (D 18) *pd* ‘knee; to run’, Copt *pat* ‘knee, foot, leg, thigh’ (EG I:500; Vy 1934:165)//Berb: Mzab *fud*, Ghat *afud*, Zenaga

*offu* <sup>d</sup> ‘knee’//? Chadic: (E) Mubi *fúudí* ‘thigh’

Dr *\*pa<sup>t</sup>-am* ‘palm (of hand)/sole (of foot)’, *\*pa<sup>t</sup>i* ‘step’ (DEDR 3843, 3850). Note: A similar semantic dispersion is also known in the case of the Indo-European etymon *\*pōd-s*, g. *\*ped-és/-ós* ‘foot’, *\*pedo-m* ‘bottom, place’, *\*pedó-<sup>a</sup>* ‘sole, step, trace’ (Pokorny 1959:790), probably related on Nostratic level.

7. El(n) *pur* ‘fingernail’ or ‘(nail of) thumb’ (HK 241)

AA *\*par-* or *\*far-* (Illič-Svityč 1984:70–77, #362)>Cush(E) *\*far->*Som *far* ‘finger’ (Do 1973:41–42)//Omotic: Koyra *partaa* ‘finger’//Chadic: (W) Hausa *farce* ‘fingernail’, Gwandara *apiraci*, Bolewa *paala*; (C) Hina *mbraa*, Mandara *falidze*, Gidar *purzulumay*; (E) Mubi *féerí*, Jegu *p<sup>h</sup>illó*

? Dr *\*vir-al* ‘finger, toe’ (DEDR 5409), cf. Dr *\*pa<sup>t</sup>-a<sup>u</sup>* and *\*va<sup>t</sup>-a<sup>u</sup>* ‘to scratch with fingernails’ (DEDR 4023, 5322).

8. El(n) *san* ‘blood’ (HK 1053)

AA *\*<sup>3</sup>Vn-(P-)* (Blažek 1989:#17)>Omotic: Zayse *zonne* ‘pus’, Hamar *zom(?)bi*, Karo *zun<sup>p</sup>i* ‘blood’//Eg (Pyr) *znf* ‘blood’, Copt *snof* (EG III: 459; Vy 1983:193)//Berb: Ifoghas *azení*, Ghat *az<sup>ni</sup>*, Ayr *azni*, Ahaggar *ahēni* id.//Chadic: (W) *\*zanyam*>Hausa *jíní*, Montol *šiyim*, Galambu *<sup>3</sup>àamá*, Kulere *zòm*; (C) Bata *<sup>3</sup>ambé*, Bachama *zàmbäy*, Gudu *a<sup>3</sup>in* id.

9. El *\*siha[n]*: (m) *sihha* ‘tooth’, (o) *sihhan* NP (HK 1071)

AA *\*si<sup>h</sup>n-* ‘tooth’ (Do 1973:91–92)>Sem *\*šinn-* (Ls 1938:504)// Cush(S) *\*si<sup>h</sup>n-* (Eh 1980:180)//Berb: Ahaggar *esiin*, pl. *isiinen*// Chadic: (W) SBauchi *\*sin*, Ngizim *yaanau*; (C) Hurzo *tlahaan*, Musgu *ši-*; (E) Jegu *sa ŋo* etc. id.

10. El(n) *siri* ‘ear’, cf. *siri* ‘true, right’ (HK 1089)

Cush(C): Waag *š<sup>or</sup>* ‘to hear’//Eg (late) *sy<sup>3</sup>* ‘to recognize, know’ (Fa 212; EG IV:30)//? Chadic: (C) Zelgwa *ts<sup>a</sup>r<sup>a</sup>k<sup>a</sup>* ‘to hear’.

11. El(m) *šara* ‘under’ (HK 1132)

AA *\*sar-* ‘back’ (Co #269)>Sem: Arab *sarā* ‘back’, Soqotri *sar*, Mehri *sār* ‘behind, after’//Cush: (N) Beja *saraat* ‘back’; (C) Xamir *s<sup>ra</sup>* id., Awngi *s<sup>or</sup>* ‘lower part’; (E) Afar *sàrra* ‘back, rear’, Burji *saro* ‘tail’, Yaaku *seerey* ‘below, down’; Dahalo *sàre* ‘back’; (S) Burunge *sira* ‘buttocks’// Eg (Pyr) *s<sup>3</sup>* ‘back’ (EG IV:8).

12. El(A) *šimme* ‘(his) nose’ (HK 1170); originally probably *\*šin-me* with the same suffix as *tit* and *tit-me* ‘tongue’ and the assimilation as *imme* ‘not’ <*\*in-me* (HK 342, 754, 757, 758)

AA *\*sin-/\*sun->*Cush: (C) *\*<sup>a</sup>säy/\*<sup>a</sup>san-* ‘nose’; (E) *\*sin-/\*sun-/\*san-* id. (Eh 1987:#476); Dahalo *sina* id.//Eg(Pyr) *sn, snsn* ‘to smell’ (EG IV: 153, 172, 277)//Chadic: (W) Hausa *sunsuma* id. Note: An alternative cognate can be seen in Sem *\*š-m-m*>Arab *šamma* ‘to smell’, *<sup>h</sup>ašm* ‘nose’.

13. El(n) *tebba* /teppa?/ ‘before, up’ (HK 307)

AA: Eg (Pyr) *tp* ‘head; on, upon’ (EG 263, 273)//? Cush: (E) Burji *tip-óo* ‘skull’ (Sa 1982:177).

14. El(n) *tipi* ‘neck’ (HK 333)

AA *\*duby->*Sem *\*d-b-r* ‘to be hinder, back’, Mandaic *dibra* ‘back, tail’, Arab *dubr* ‘tail’//Cush: (E) *\*dib-/\*dub/\*dab-* ‘tail, back’ (Sa 1982:57), cf. Oromo *duba* ‘back, behind’//Omotic: Kullo *duupiya*, Karo *dibini*, Bako *doobanna* ‘tail’//Chadic: (C) Gisiga, Mafa *d<sup>a</sup>ba*, Gidar *dúbo* ‘back’.

*Human society*

15. El(m) *ah(a)-pi* ‘origin, kin, genealogy’ (HK 15, 33, 35, 392); *-pi*=pl. suffix  
 AA \**ʔaḥw-*>Sem \**ʔaḥw-* ‘brother’, \**ʔaḥw-at-* ‘sister’ (Cohen 1970:15) ? Cush: (E) Arbore *ʔaw* ‘maternal uncle’//Eg (BD, NK) *ḥ(w/y)* ‘child’ (Vy 1934:258)//? Chadic: (C) Boka *xwəyà*, Musgu *ahū* ‘son’.
16. El(m) *bali* ‘male’ (HK 131–132)  
 AA \**bal-/bil-*>? Sem \**baʿl-* ‘lord, husband’//Eg (OK) *by3* ‘to be a powerful being’, *b33w.t* ‘virility’ (EG I:413, 417)//Chadic: (W) Sura *ḥāl* ‘strength, strong, powerful’; (C) Logone *bīle* ‘man, male’, Kuseri *belom*, Gulfei *bəle* ‘man’.
17. El \**eri/\*iri* ‘uncle’ (HK 401, 774)  
 AA \**ʔary-* ‘kinsman’>Sem: Ug *ʔary* ‘son’ or ‘brother’//Eg (Pyr) *íry* ‘companion’ (Ward 1961:32; EG I:105)//Cush: (N) Beja’ *aar* ‘female relatives’; (C) Awngi *ḡārā* ‘her husband’<\**ḡi-ārā*; (HE) \**aroʔo* ‘husband’; (S) Mbugu *m’áro* ‘neighbor; kind, related thing’, Asa *ʔarato* ‘twins’// Chadic: (W) Kulere *ʔyer* ‘brother’, Bokkos *re*, pl. *ʔarya* ‘man’.
18. El(m) *hiš* ‘name’, *hiša* ‘praise, glory’ (HK 662, 669)  
 AA \**ḥiḥas-*>Sem: Akk *ḥasāsu* ‘to remember’, *ḥasīsu(m)* ‘ear, wisdom’, Ug *ḥss* ‘to feel’; Arab *ḥassa* id., *ḥiss* ‘voice’//Eg (OK) *ḥsy* ‘to sing’ (EG III:164–165)//Cush: (E) \**haašaw-* ‘to chat’ (Sa 1982:88)>Rendille *xawes* ‘tale’ etc.; ? (S) Asa *has-* ‘to hear’
19. El(o) *hit* ‘troops’, (m) *hitra* ‘warrior’ (HK 665–666)  
 AA \**ʕad-/ʕid-*>Sem: Hbr *ʕdy-eḵ* ‘the prime’, Soqotri *ʕed(e)* ‘vie, esprit’, Geez *ʕəd* ‘viri, masculi, mariti, viri fortes’, Tigre *ʕad* ‘ribe, family, people’ (Ls 1938:56)//Cush: (E) Som *ʕed, ʕid* ‘people’, Rendille *et* ‘person, man’, Arbore *ʔedan* ‘people’//Omoti: Omoto *\*ad(d)e* ‘man, male, husband’, Aroid *\*e(e)d* ‘man’//Berb: Shilh *id* ‘people’, Ksur *idu* ‘kin’ //? Chadic: (C) Musugeu *hiddi* ‘man’. Note: The analogical semantic dispersion appears, e.g. in Indo-European: Hittite *tuzzi-* ‘army, camp’ vs. West IE \**teutā* ‘people’.
20. El(o) *igi* ‘brother’ (HK 743)  
 AA \**ʔagy-*>Cush: (C) Bilin *ʔäg*, Kemant, Awngi *ag*, Xamir *ig*, Kunfāl *yaga* ‘uncle’; (S) Asa *ʔagok* ‘mother’s brother’//Omoti: Ubamer *agi* ‘aunt’.
21. El(o) *iza* ‘cousin’  
 AA \**ʔiS-*>Cush: (C) Awngi *išyaa* ‘brother’; (E) Tambaro *izoa*, Kambatta *hizoo* ‘brother’;? Boni *éesə* ‘mother’s brother’, Oromo *eessuma* ‘maternal uncle’//Omoti: Basketo *išaa*, Wolaita *iša* ‘brother’, Koyra *iččaa* ‘id., paternal uncle’, Yemsa *ištaa* ‘uncle’; Hamar *išma* ‘brother’.
22. El(o) *liba* ‘servant, groom’ (HK 818–819)  
 AA? \**lyab-* (Do 1973:164, 229)>Cush: ? (N) Beja *rāba* ‘male; capable, able’; (E) \**leb-* ‘male; strong’ (Sa 1979:22, 1982:131); (S) Iraqw *lāwaalee* ‘slaves’//Omoti: Dizi *yabu*, Na’o *iab*, Sheko *yaab* ‘man’.
23. El(o) \**ma(a)n-* ‘might, power’ (HK 846)  
 AA \**manw/y-* ‘man’ (Illič-Svityč 1976:58, #292)>Cush: (LE) Som *mun* ‘male’, (HE) \**manna* ‘man (people)’//Omoti: Wolaita *minoo* ‘warrior’, Kachama *mono*



'strong'//Berb: Zenaga *miin*, pl. *māān* 'man', (*u*)*man* 'kin', Zwawa *iman* 'person, life'//? Eg(Pyr) *mn* 'someone', Copt *man* 'a certain person/thing' (EG II:64–65; Vy 1983:114)//Chadic: (W) \**mani* 'man, husband, people' (St 232:#801); (C) Logone *meeni* 'man'

? Sum \**emen*>\**ewen*>*en*, Emesal *umun* 'lord' (Schretter 1990:263) Dr \**ma* *u* 'king, lord, warrior' (DEDR 4774).

24. El(A) *mal* /*wal*?/ 'child, baby' (HK 903)

AA \**wayl*-/ \**waly*- 'child'>Cush: (E) Sam \**weil* 'child', \**wàlál* 'brother'; Elmolo *wéil*, Dasenech *vèèl* 'child'//Berb: Libyan *w* 'son' vs. *wl.t* 'daughter'//Chadic: (C) Buduma *wuli*; (E) Sumrai *wiil* 'child'.

25. El(m) *mu(h)ti* 'woman, wife' (HK 948, 961–962)

AA \**ma* *t*-/ \**matH*- 'woman, wife'>? Sem: Arab *m-t-t* 'to be related with somebody through marriage' or *m-t*-/w 'cohabiter avec une femme' (Vycichl, AION 50, 1990, 80)//Cush: (E) Sidamo *matē* 'wife' //Omoti: Shinasha *maton* and/or Kachama *maa t* *o* 'woman'//Berb: Ahaggar *tam* *o* *t* 'woman', *m* *o* *t* 'femme sans aucun valeur', Djerba *tamátto* *t* 'woman'//Chadic: (W) \**mata* 'woman, wife' (St 232, #796); (C) Bachama *mata* 'woman', Wadi *miitti* 'Weib'.

26. El(o) *nab* or *nap* 'god' (HK 966, 970–971)

AA \**na(ya)b*- 'lord'>Sem: Arab *nāb*, pl. ?*anyāb* 'tribal chief' (Ember, 1917:83: Arab+Eg); Mehri *nōb* f. 'grand'//Eg (Pyr) *nbw* 'lord', Copt *nēb* (EG II:227; Vy 1983:138)//? Cush:(E) Afar *naba* 'to be big', *nabam* 'very, much', Arbore *nīb* 'greatly, very'.

27. El(A) *puhu* 'boy', cf. *punna* 'young' (HK 230, 238, 240)

AA \**p/fu*[*g*]->Sem: Ug *p* 'y' 'boy', *p* 't' 'girl' (Segert 1984:198)//Chadic: (W) Bokkos *fú*, Sha foy, Kulere *fwè*, *fo* 'boy, child' Dr \**poy* 'girl' (DEDR 4532).

28. El(A) *ruh* 'man', (o) *ruhu* 'offspring' (HK 836, 1044–1046, 1049)

AA \**rV* *h* *h* *w* [w]>? Sem: Akk *ra* *h* *ū*, *re* *h* *ū* (*m*) 'to beget, pair' (AHw 969) //Eg(OK) *r* *h* *w* 'people' (EG II:441) or (Pyr) *r* *h* *y* *t* 'men' (EG II:447), cf. *r* *h* 'to copulate'? (Fa 152).

29. El(m) *šak* 'male offspring, son' (HK 1110)

AA \**Sak* *k* <sup>(w)</sup> >Cush: (E) Oromo *sookiyyaa* 'adolescent'//Berb: Ahaggar *ašagu*, pl. *šaḡet* 'young man'<\**aa-saagu* *h*/\**sāgu* *h* (Prasse 1974:62); Guanche *suka* 'son' vs. *sukaha* 'daughter' (Wo 408)//Chadic: (W) Hausa *saako* 'a younger brother' vs. *saakuwaa* 'a younger sister'.

30. El(A) *zin* 'baby, suckling' (HK 1291)

AA \**z* *in* -/\**z* *un* - (?)>Chadic: (W) Nbauchi \**z* *in* -'child'; (C) Gisiga *zuḡ*, Bachama *nze* 'son, boy'

Dr \**ci* *u* *u* *a* 'small', cf. Brahui *cunaa* 'child' (DEDR 2594; MA 100: El+Dr).

### Natural phenomena

31. El(m) *amni* 'mountains', (A) *amnu* 'mountain'? (HK 55, 517)

AA \**abun*- 'stone'>Sem \**abun*- id. (Ls 1938:4)//Eg (Med) *ibnw* 'mineral material, alun', Copt *obn*, *ōben* 'alun' (Vy 1934:48–49)//Cush: (N) Beja 'awe 'stone'<?\**awen*-, cf. *siku-awn-eb* (acc.) 'Quartz' (Munzinger); (C) \**amb*-

- 'mountain'> \**abn*-//Berb \**abūn* 'stone'> Sus *awwun/aggun* etc.; Guanche *t-abonas* (pl.) id. (Rössler 1964:214) //Chadic: (W) \**abuni* 'millstone' (St 230, #781).
32. El(A) *bel* 'year' (HK 188)  
AA \**bVl*->? Sem: Ph *bl*, Hbr *bul* 'name of a month' (Cohen 1970:51)//Cush: (E) Sam \**bil*- 'month' (He 1978:76), Sidamo *bululo* 'year'; (S) Qwadza *bala?eto* 'year', ? Alagwa *balalu* 'days'/? Chadic: (W) Fyer *wél*, Sha *wíl*, etc. 'year'.
33. El(o) *hal* 'land, bottom, region, city' (HK 574, 594)  
AA \**hal*- 'place'>Cush: (E) Som *hal* 'place'//Berb: Mzab *al* 'place', Zenaga *al* 'id., country'.
34. El(A) *har* 'Stein' (HK 623)  
AA \**har*- 'mountain, rock'>Sem \**harar*- 'mountain'>Hbr *har*, *hererī*, Ph *hr* id. (Klein 1987:167)//? Cush: (E) Yaaku *héér* ⚡, pl. *her* ⚡r 'big' rock'//Berb: Ahaggar *ahor* 'accumulation of rocks'  
Dr \**aḷ*-ay 'stone, rock' (DEDR 321).
35. El(o) *hun* 'light' (HK 697, 717, 719–720); cf. (o) *nahin* 'God of sun', (m) *nahhunte* 'sun'= \**naN* 'Tag' and *hunti* 'Beleuchter' (HK 979–980)  
AA \**[h]Vn*->? Cush: (E) Burji *hin*-*ícco* 'sun'//Chadic: (C) Zelgwa *həne*, Paduko *həni*, Hurzo *hənde*, Mandara *hər* ⚡r 'day (twenty-four hours).
36. El(m) *ki-el* 'region, district', (n) *ku-el* 'region' (HK 463, 501)  
AA \**kal[w]*->Cush: (E) Oromo *kaloo* 'pasture land'//Berb: Adghaq *akal*, Zwawa *akkal*, Ntifa *akäl* etc. 'earth'//Chadic: (W) Tangale *kálaw* id.
37. El(o) *lali* 'source' (HK 813)  
AA \**lay*-(*l[ay]*-)>Cush: (N) Beja *lil* 'to be wet, damp, moist'; (E) Afar *lay*, pl. *laayl* 'water', *layhintii* 'source'; ? Oromo *lolaa* 'flood' // Berb: Libyan *lilu* 'water' (Hesychios); Matmata *ilil* 'sea', Zenaga *ḷll* 'id., big river'. Note: Hittite *luli* 'lake, pond, source, well' resembles rather El *lali* than Sum *túl* 'source' connected with Hittite by Puhvel (1976:27).
38. El(o) *sud*-/*šut-me* 'night' (HK 1018, 1170, 1193–1194)  
AA \**sud*-/ \**sut*->Sem: Arab *swd* 'to be black', OSA *s(w)d* Cush: (N) Beja *sootay*, *suutay*, *sooday* 'of dark colour, dark-brown, -grey'//Omotic: Dime *suut-u*, Galila *šoyt-i*, Ari *soyt-i*, Hamer *soyt-i*, *soot-i* 'night'.
39. El(n) *tep* /*deb*?/ 'rain' (HK 311)  
AA \**dib*-/ \**dub*->Cush: (E) Rendille *dubbat* 'cloud', Hadiya *duuba* id. //Omotic: Dizi *dieb* 'to rain', Kafa *dup* id.; Dime *deeb*, Ari *doob* 'rain' //Chadic: (W) Jimbin *dabuna* 'rainy season'; (C) Daba *dəbav* ⚡ya 'rainy season', Gidar *dúbbya* id.; (E) Kera *dubueni* 'rain'.
40. El(n) *uhi* 'stone, rock' (HK 1202)  
AA \**uḷay*->Berb: Menacer *uqi*, Iznacen *awqi* 'stone'//Chadic: (W) Montol *oho* 'rock'; Sha *wàḷ* ⚡y 'mountain' or *hàw* 'stone', Daffo-Butura *hayaay* pl. id., Fyer *hoó* 'mountain'.

*Dwelling, agriculture, tools and weapons, transport*

41. El(o) *aapi*- 'to plough' (HK 15)  
AA \**hVb*->? Sem: Arab *habba* 'to cut'//Eg(OK) *hb* 'plough' (EG II:485), Copt

*hebbe, hebi* (Vy 1934:288)

Sum *apin* 'plough' (Blažek and Boisson 1992:22).

42. El(A) *bardu* 'street' (HK 147)

AA \**bVr[d]*->? Cush: (E) Konso *pora* 'road' (*p*-<\**b*- regularly)// Omotic: Nao *buřun*, Gimira *bod* 'road'//Berb: Ahaggar *abarīd*, Ayr *abər*, Augila *tabarur* 'road'//Chadic: (W) Buli *bədāna*; (C) Hwona *banda*; (E) Mubi *bəddəl*, Migama *bótól* 'way, road'.

43. El(A) *basram* 'hammer' (HK 126, 395)

AA \**bVrVs*->Cush: (E) Oromo *burrisa*, Konso *purriša*; Dobase *purruša* 'heft'.

44. El(A) *elpi* 'saw'? (HK 395)

? AA \**alb*->Cush: (E) Oromo *albee* 'knife'; Gollango *albeni* 'sickle'.

45. El(o) *halki* 'sweet', (A) *hal(?)*-*la(?)*-*ki* 'honey' (HK 599–600)

AA \**hVl*->Sem \**hlw*->Arab *halā* 'to be sweet, pleasant', *hlw* 'sweet', Syr *hēlī* 'to be sweet'//Eg (D 19) *h3hr̥g /hl̥g/* 'to be glad, to rejoice', (Gr) *hrg*, Demotic *hlk* 'sweet', Copt *hloj* 'to be sweet' (EG III:34; Vy 1934:298)//? Berb: Tamasheq *suttegʸet* 'to be sweet' (caus.) (Vy 1934:85).

46. El(m) \**hwel*-/\**hyel*- 'portal, gate; yard' (HK 391, 393, 657, 666, 683, 1201)

AA \**ġul*->? Sem: Aramaic *ʿll*, Arab *ġa lla* 'to enter'//Eg (Pyr) *ʿ3* '(leaf of) door', (D 20) *ʿry.t* 'Türbalken', (Pyr) *ʿr(r)w.t* 'gate' (EG I:164, 209–211)//Cush: (E) Oromo *ula* 'gate, portal'//? Chadic: (W) Siri *hwuli* 'doorway'.

47. El(A) *hipis* 'ax', cf. *atti hipis* 'Spitzhacke' (HK 395, 668)

AA \**hVb(-)Vs*->Eg (Pyr) *hbs* 'hacken' (cf. *hb3* id.), (BD) *hbsy.t* 'Hacke' (EG III:256)//? Berb: Ahaggar *ēgweś* 'tailler, retrancher ce qu'il y a de trop'.

48. El(n) *menu-me* 'roof'? (HK 915)

AA \**min*->Cush: ? (N) Beja *mine* 'to create'; (C) \**-ən*- 'house'; (E) \**min*-/\**man*- id. (Sa 1982:45), cf. Elmolo *mīndu* 'roof'; (S) \**min*- 'house' (Eh 1987:#436)//Eg (Pyr) *mn(n)w* 'fortress' (EG II:82; Takács p.c.)//Chadic: (W) Bole-Tangale \**mina* 'hut' (St 247)

Dr \**ma**u*-*ay* 'house' (DEDR 4776).

49. El(m) *mit[i]* 'needle' (HK 939)

AA \**mut*<sup>c</sup>-/\**mit*<sup>c</sup>->Cush: (E) Elmolo *midī*, Dullay *mut(u<sup>c</sup>)o*, Gedeo *muta* 'needle'.

50. El(m) *ulhu* 'chamber', *ulhi* 'dwelling-place; Tempel-Cella'; (A) *ulhu* 'house, palace, yard' (HK 1216–1217)

AA \**?uhl*->Sem \**?uhl*->Akk *aalu(m)* 'village, city', Ug *?ahl* 'tent, dwelling', Hbr *?ohel* 'tent, shelter' etc. (Cohen 1970:10)//Eg (D 19) *ih3y.t*, (D 18) *ihw* 'camp, stable' (EG I:118)//Cush: (E) Oromo *oll-aa* 'village', Arbore *?ollah* 'id., neighbors'.

### Fauna

51. El(A) *bagimaš* 'halbwüchsig bei weiblichen Kleinvieh' (HK 118)= *bakemaš* 'intermediate (female) goat' (Hallock 1969:673)

AA \**bagg*- or \**bag*<sup>c</sup>- (Co #390)>Cush: (N) Beja *bok* 'he-goat'; (C) \**bäg(g)*- 'sheep'>Geez *baggə<sup>c</sup>* 'sheep, ram'//Berb: Ahaggar *abag<sup>y</sup>ug<sup>y</sup>* 'young ram', Iullemiden *abbegug* 'ram'. Note: El *bagimaš* can be a compound of a proper El word for 'goat' and Sum *maš*, *māš* 'he-goat, kid, gazelle' (IK 657, 660), cf. also *maš* 'son,

boy' (IK 657).

52. El(A) *duma* 'wolf' (HK 356)

AA \**du?m-* or \**dumm-*>Sem: Akk *dumaam-* 'gepard', Arab (Yemen) *dimm*, *dumm* 'cat' (Ls 1938:136)//Cush:(S) \**du?uma* 'leopard' (Eh 1980:347)//Omoti: Koyra *damaa* 'jackal'//Chadic: (W) \**dami* 'leopard; hyena' (St 171, #240); (E) Bidiya *ḏèṁ ḏètṇ* 'lynx'.

53. El(A) *it-ra-an-ku* /*dranku?*/ 'donkey' (HK 794)

AA?: Cush: (C) \**dəq<sup>w</sup>ar-* 'donkey'//Chadic: (E) Mubi *ḏùrgúl*, Migama *ḏurkúl*, Dangla *ḏúrkur*, Bidiya *ḏurtikilo* id.

54. El(m) *hidu* 'sheep' (HK 656)

AA \**ḥid-/\*idd-?*>Cush: (E) Saho *eydo<sup>c</sup>iido* 'sheep' (coll.), Asa-Lisan *iddoo* pl. 'sheep', Elmolo *édi* 'goat'

Dr \**iḥ*—'to herd (esp. goats)'>Malayalam *iḥayan* 'a caste of shepherds and cowherds', Brahui *hiḥing* 'to gather, herd' (DEDR 450; MA 97: El+Dr).

55. El(m) *kumaš* 'he-goat' (HK 512); cf. *áš* 'cattle, herd' (HK 84)

AA \**kVm-*>Cush:(C) \**kəṁ-* 'cattle'//Chadic: (W) Bole-Tangale \**k<sup>w</sup>amV* 'cow' (St 246).

56. El(A) \**kar (r)-/\*kur(r)-* 'lamb' (HK 441, 442, 531)

AA \**karr-* (Co #181)>Sem \**karr-* '(male) lamb'//? Cush: (E) Dasenech *kor-ac* 'male kid'//Berb: Qabyle *ikərri*, Ahaggar *ekrer* 'ram', Sus *ikru* 'goat'//Chadic: (W) Saya *kərò*, Wandai *karò* 'sheep'.

57. El(m) *lapilan* 'horse' (HK 811); ?<\**laki-[i]pilan*, cf. *laki-* 'to travel' (HK 806, 811), comparable with Beja *lagi* 'road'; Qwadza *lagalako* 'path, road' (Eh 1987:#316)

? AA: Sem \**?ib(i)l-* 'camel' (Cohen 1970:3)//? Eg *ib3w* 'Barbary sheep' (Fa 15; Takács p.c.: Eg+Sem)

Dr \**ivuḥi* 'horse' (DEDR 500). Note: The domesticated horse (*Equus caballus*) was not introduced into south Asia until after 2000 BC. McAlpin (1981:147) judges that Dr \**ivuḥi* must refer to onager (*Equus hemionus*). On the other hand, the domesticated horse was introduced into Sumer just from West Iran/Elam beginning of 3rd mill. BC (Brentjes).

58. El(A) *putu* and *pitu* 'kid' (HK 226, 237)

AA \**pVḥ(V)d-*>Sem: Akk *puḥadu* 'lamb, kid', Ug *pḥd* 'lamb' (Gordon 1965:467)//Berb: Ahaggar *eifed* 'ram', Ayr *äyyəḏ* id. (Prasse 1974:21).

59. El(A) *tila* 'calf' (HK 329)

AA \**ṭaly-*>Sem \**ṭalay-* 'young of sheep, goat, antelope' (Ls 1938:590) //Cush: (E) \**ṭal-* 'to beget' (Sa 1982, 123), cf. Sidamo *ṭala/ṭala* 'she-donkey'//Berb: Iullemiden *āṭel* 'calf'. Note: Cf. also Hurrian *Tilla* 'a bull (of Teššub)' (Laroche 1977:266).

60. El(A) *zamama* 'bird'='Geflügel'? (HK 1280)

AA \**cum-an-*>Sem: Akk *summatu* 'dove', Arab *summān* 'quail' (AHw 1058)//Eg (Pyr) *smn* 'goose' (EG IV:136)//? Berb: Ahaggar *a-jjam* 'sp. ostrich'//? Chadic:(W) \**ziman-* 'ostrich' (St 190).

61. El(A) *zibar-* 'camel' (HK 1288)

AA \*[*z*]VbVr->Cush: (C) Bilin *daabraa* 'bullock, Stier zum pflügen'; (E) Som

*dubeer* ‘decrepit pack-camel’. Note: The oldest discovery of domesticated camel (*Camel bactrianus*) is known from central Iran (Tepe Yahya, 4500–3800 BC) (Brentjes). Its spreading is attested from east Iran (Shahr-i-Sokhta, 2700 BC) and the Indus valley (2300 BC) (Banti 1993:186). On the other hand, dromedary (*Camelus dromedarius*), originating probably from the Arabian peninsula, was depicted in Mesopotamia before 3000 BC and in Egypt in early 3rd mill. BC (Brentjes). The age of a presence of camel in Ethiopia and Somalia is discussed by Banti 1993:193–199. The east African camel was imported from south Arabia. The similarity of Elamite and Cushitic words does not represent certainly a common heritage. If it is not an accident, it can be explained only as a result of a cultural diffusion.

### Flora

62. El(n) *ahiš* ‘pasture-land’ (HK 34)  
 AA \**c*?/*awis*->Cush: (E) \**cawiš*- ‘grass’ (Sa 1979:44, 45, 47)//Omoti: She *oš* ‘cane, Bambusa abyssinica’//Chadic: (W) Nbauchi \**awasi* ‘grass’ (Skinner 1977:24); (C) Ga’anda *ušinna*, Masa *usna* id.; (E) Bidiya ?*awso*, Sokoro *ússii* id.
63. El(m) *par* ‘seed, offspring’ (HK 148)  
 AA \**pVr*- (Co: #367)>Sem: Akk *pēru* ‘fruit’, Hbr *pēri* id., *pārāh* ‘to bear fruit’, ? Arab *wafara* ‘to be numerous, fruitful’ Eg *pry* ‘to give birth’ (Ward 1961:36–37: Sem+Eg)//Cush: (N) Beja *firi* ‘to bear offspring, fruit’, *faar* ‘blossom, flower, seed, bud’; (C) \**ƿər*- ‘to flower, fruit; grain’ (Eh 1987:#184).
64. El(o) *huk* ‘wood’ (HK 686, 689, 714)  
 AA \**haq*-/\**hak*-?>Cush: (E) Afar *hak*, Saho Irob *hak* ‘branch’, (HE) \**haqqa* ‘tree, wood’//Omoti: Koyra *akkaa* ‘tree’; Ubamer *aqā*, Banna *haaqa*, Bako (a)*haka* etc. id.//? Berb: Ahaggar *éké*, pl. *ikéwen* ‘root’.
65. El(o) *husa* ‘stem, stick, wood, tree, forest’ (HK 702–703)  
 AA \**c*<sub>1</sub>*i*<sub>2</sub>->Sem \**c*<sub>1</sub>*i*<sub>2</sub>- ‘tree, wood’, cf. Akk *išū*, Arab Datina *‘aḏa*, *‘uḏah* (Ls 1987:57)//Eg (Med, BD) *ḏcc* ‘branch’ (EG V, 535)//Cush: (N) Beja *aḏa* ‘pole, long stick’; ? (E) Afar *haḏaa* ‘tree’, *hàḏḏa* ‘stick’//? Chadic: (C) Mandara *haázlā* ‘tree’.
66. El(m) *malu* ‘wood’ (HK 864)  
 AA \**mal*->Chadic: (W) Bolewa *mala* ‘forest’, Gera *màalā* ‘bush’// Berb: Senhaja *amalu* ‘oak’.

### Adjectives

67. El(n) *hazza*—‘big’ (HK 592–593, 653)  
 AA \**c*<sub>3</sub>->Sem \**c*<sub>3</sub>-z-z ‘to be strong, mighty’ (AHw 269–270; Ls 1987:81)? Eg *‘ḏ* ‘to be safe, vigorous, prosperous’ (EG I:237)//? Cush: (S) Mbugu -’*ezā* ‘long, tall’ (Eh 1980:275)//Omoti: Benchnon *ez-at*- ‘to become big’, *ez-ats*- ‘to make big’.
68. El(A) *kara* ‘old’ (HK 437–438)  
 AA \**gary*->Sem: Arab *ġārin*- ‘to be worn out (clothes), be trained (beast)’//Cush: (E) \**ger*<sup>c</sup>- ‘old’ (Black 1974:20); (S) Alagwa *garmo*, pl. *gari* ‘old man’, *gara?o* ‘old woman’//Chadic: (W) Hausa *girme*, *girmaa* ‘to be older than’  
 Dr \**kiR*- ‘old’ (DEDR 1579).

69. El(m) *meli/u-* /*weli/u-?*/ ‘(for) a long time’ (HK 912, 918)  
AA \**w[a]ly-*>Eg(Pyr) *w3y* ‘to be far’, Copt *we(i)* id., (Pyr) *3wy* ‘to be long’, (MK) *w3h* ‘to be long (in time)’ (EG I:245, 255, 259; Vy 1983:230)//Berb: Ahaggar *alu* ‘to be large’ (Co: #513 adds also Arab *waliya* ‘to be near’).
70. El(o) *mer* ‘powerful’ (HK 910)  
AA \**mVr-*>Sem \**m-r-r* ‘to strengthen’ (Segert 1984:193)//Eg *mr* ‘strong’ (Ward 1961:36: Sem+Eg).
71. El(n) *purna* ‘brown’ (HK 242)  
AA \**bu?r-*>Cush: (E) \**bo?r-* ‘yellow, brown, red’ (Sa 1982:39); cf. Rendille *bóran* ‘(dark-) brown’, Arbore *burrí* ‘red’//? Chadic: (E) Bidiya *baar* ‘to become red’, *barga* ‘red’.
72. El(n) *riša-/ir(i)ša-* ‘big’ (HK 774, 779–80, 1041)  
AA \**ri?s->*Sem \**ra?iš-* ‘head’—cf. Geez *r-?-s* ‘to rise above, become chief’ (Ls 1987:458)//Eg (Med) *3ys* ‘brain’ (EG I:2).
73. El(n) *sir* ‘heavy, rich’ (HK 1087, 1089, 1090)  
AA \**s[u]r->*Sem: Akk *ešēru*, Hbr *yašár* ‘to be straight’, Arab *sarā* (= *s-r-w*) ‘to be brave, manly, noble, be firm’ (Albright 1927:212: Sem+Eg) //Eg (Pyr) *wsr* ‘to be strong’ (EG I:860)//Cush: (E) \**šor-* ‘rich’ (Sa 1979:33)—add Boni \**suur-* ‘good’ (He 1982:110).
74. El(A) *teman-* ‘evening’ (HK 317)  
AA \**tVm-/tVm->*Sem: Arab \**a?rama* ‘devenir sombre’//Eg: Copt *thómtəm* ‘to become dark’ (Vy 1934:43: Copt+CCush), derived perhaps from Eg *htmtm* (Vy 1983:316)//Cush: (C) \**tem-* ‘to be dark’; (HE) \**t!um-* ‘darkness’//Omoti: Wolaita *tuumoo* id., Shinasha *tuumaa* ‘night’ (Do 1973:53–54).

### Adverbs, conjunctions and particles

75. El(m) *am* ‘now’ (Hallock 1969:666; HK 14, 48, 51, 56)  
AA \**?am(m)->*Sem \**?am-/?im-* ‘if’ (Cohen 1970:22; Ls 1987:22–23) //? Eg(Pyr) *m* (y) ‘how, if’ (EG II:1, 36; Vy 1983:105)//Cush: (C) Bilin *emmáa*, *immáa* ‘nun denn, also’; *e/imáanaa* ‘time; earlier’; (E) \**?amm-(an-)* ‘time’ (Do 1973:132; Black 1974:157; Sa 1979:25)//Nberb \**am* ‘how’ (Prasse 1972:230: Eg+Berb).
76. El(n) *da* ‘also, yet, then’ (HK 245)  
AA \**dV->*Cush: (C) Bilin, Qwara *-dii* ‘together with’; (E) Som *-daa* ‘emphatic particle’//Chadic: (W) Angas *da* ‘also’//Berb: Libyan *d* ‘and, together with’, Ahaggar *ǝd* ‘with; and’ (Prasse 1972:225).
77. El(n) *hira* ‘for’ (HK 668)  
AA: Eg(Pyr) *h<sup>h</sup>r* ‘for, (up) on, through’, orig. ‘face’ (EG III:132).
78. El(o) *in-* ‘not’ (HK 754, 757–758)  
AA \**?in->*Sem: Akk *yānu/ya?nu* ‘isn’t’, Ph *yunny* id., Hbr *?ayin*, *?een*, Ug *in*, *yanu* ‘there is not’, Arab *?in*, Geez *?en* (Ls 1987:27)//Eg(Pyr) *n*, (MK) *nn* ‘not’ (EG II:195)//Cush: (E) Som *an* ‘not’, Oromo *en*-id., Afar *-inn* (in negative verbal constructions *mV-verb-inn*).
79. El(m) *sap* ‘copy’, (A) ‘how’ (HK 1054–1055; Hallock 1969:751)  
AA \**3ap->*Sem: Arab *zaffat* ‘once’, *zafatāni* ‘twice’ (Ember 1913:119:

Arab+Eg)//Eg (OK) *zp* ‘times’ (=‘mal’) (EG III:435).

### Numerals

80. El(o) *ki* ‘one’ (HK 459, 465, 468–469)  
 AA \**kawy*->Eg(Pyr) *kyy*, pl. *kwy* ‘another’ (EG V:110), cf. *ky... ky* ‘one...other’ (Fa 285)//Cush: (N) Beja *kwo* ‘unit’; ? (C) Bilin *kaayaa* ‘empty; only, alone, solitary’ or Qwara *kaw* ‘to be in front, be first’; (E) \**kaww*- ‘one; alone’ (Sa 1979:44)//Omoti: Dizi *qòy*, Sheko *k(w)oy* ‘one’; ? Gongga \**ikk*- id.
81. El(n) *mar(i)* /=*wari*?/ ‘two’ (HK 860, 876, 880)  
 AA \**wary*-?>Cush: (N) Beja *wari* ‘other’; (C) \**wäri* ‘or’ (Eh 1987: #578: N+CCush)—cf. Dahalo *watte* ‘other’ (Elderkin) vs. *watte* ‘or’ (Eh)//Chadic:(W) Hausa *waari* ‘a pair’  
 Dr \**wa*~~ɬ~~-o~~ɬ~~<sup>ɬ</sup>*i* ‘next year’ (DEDR 5375), cf. \**onti* ‘time, a turn’ (DEDR 979) ? Note: Being El *m*- original, there is an alternative cognate in Dr \**ma*~~ɬ~~<sup>ɬ</sup>*u* ‘another, following, next, again’ (DEDR 4766). Al’bedil’ 1986:47 tries to prove a presence of this in the language of Proto-Indus script on the basis of a partial homonymity with Dr \**ma*~~ɬ~~<sup>ɬ</sup>*a*- ‘hero’ (DEDR 4764).
82. El(A) *ziti* ‘three’ (HK 1305)  
 AA?: Sem \**šidš*- and \**šidt*- ‘6’ < \**šid*+*šid*=3+3?—cf. Ug ~~ɬ~~<sup>ɬ</sup>~~ɬ~~<sup>ɬ</sup> *w* ~~ɬ~~<sup>ɬ</sup>~~ɬ~~<sup>ɬ</sup> *t* ‘6’=‘3+3’, ~~ɬ~~<sup>ɬ</sup>~~ɬ~~<sup>ɬ</sup> *tt* ‘12’=‘6+6’ (Gordon 1965:503, 501)//Berb: \**sa*~~ɬ~~<sup>ɬ</sup>*ts* and \**sū*~~ɬ~~<sup>ɬ</sup>*us* ‘6’ (an old reduplication?)/? Chadic: (W&E) \**sidu* ‘6’. Note: There are suggestive parallels in Nilo-Saharan: Berta *sittijini* ‘3’; Kunama *saate*, Ilit *satte*; Berti *soti* id. The position of ECush \**s/šaz(zi)*~~ɬ~~<sup>ɬ</sup> ‘3’ and \**siz*~~ɬ~~<sup>ɬ</sup>*et* ‘8’ is not clear, cf. also Mao (Omot) *t/siyaz*- and Tirma (Surma) *sisi, dizi* ‘3’. A total puzzle is Soqotri (SSem) ~~ɬ~~<sup>ɬ</sup>*adeheh* ‘3’ recorded by Bittner against the usual form *šile/ša<sup>c</sup>te* m./f. by Johnstone.
83. El(n) *kut*- ‘all’ (HK 548, 565)  
 AA \**gudd*-/\**gutt*-/\**gud-t*- ? (Greenberg 1963:59)>Sem: Arab *ğadda* ‘to be great, rich, honoured’//Cush: (N) Beja *gud* ‘to be much, many, full, big’; (C) Awnji *gud* ‘good’; (E) \**gudd*-/\**guud*- ‘big’, cf. Som *giddi* ‘whole’ (Eh 1987:#37)//Omoti: Wolaita *guute* ‘much’//Chadic: (W) Kofyar *g<sup>w</sup>et* ‘many’; (C) Higi *gutàg<sup>ɔ</sup>* id.//Berb: Zwara *a-guda* id.

### Verbs

84. El(m) *bakka*- ‘to find’ (HK 106)  
 AA \**bV<sup>ɬ</sup>*->Sem \**b-q-w* ‘to seek, try’ (Cohen 1976:78)//Cush: (E) Som *beeq*- and *beeg*-, Oromo *bek* ‘to know’//Omoti: Benchnon *beq<sup>c</sup>* ‘to see’, Basketo *biq*-, Kafa *beg(g)*- id., caus. *beqq*- ‘to know’.
85. El(n) *bera*- ‘to read’ (HK 185–186)  
 AA \**ba*[?]r->Sem \**b-?-r* ‘to explain’ (Cohen 1976:41)//Eg(MK) *sb3* ‘to teach’, (late) ‘to learn’, cf. (Pyr) *sb3.w* ‘teacher’ (EG IV:84–85) with a frozen causative prefix *s-* ?//Cush: (E) \**bar*-, cf. Afar *bar-is*- ‘to teach’, *bar-it*- ‘to learn’, Oromo Borana *bar-a<sup>ɬ</sup>*- ‘to understand’ (Black 1974:164); Dahalo *bar*- ‘to know’ (Eh 1980:135)

Dr \**pa*ʔ-ay ‘to speak, say, utter’ (DEDR 4031; MA 105: El+Dr) or \**pēr*- ‘speech’ (DEDR 4439).

86. El(m) *da*-/ta- ‘to lie, put’ (HK 248, 254–255, 262)

AA \**-d*ˀ<>Sem \*(w-)*d*ˀ- ‘to put’ (Ls 1938:125)//Cush: (N) Beja *dī* ‘to make, be ready, put’, caus. *daa*-s//Chadic: (C) Musgu *da* ‘to do, build’, Logone *da* ‘to put, stand’ (Do 1973:186–187).

87. El(o) *du*- ‘to get, take, keep’ (HK 346–347, 356–357)

AA *-d*-w/y>? Sem *ndy*>Akk *nadū* ‘to throw (away), put down’, Ug *ndy* ‘to throw/drive away, remove’, postbib. Hbr *ndy* ‘to banish’ (AHw 705; Segert 1984:193) and Sem *wdy*>Ug *ydy*, Hbr *yā*ʔā ‘to throw’, Arab *ʔawdā* ‘to take away’, Geez *wadaya* ‘to put, add, lay, place, throw’ (Ls 1987:605)//Eg *idy*, *wdy*, *ndy* ‘to give, put, throw’ (Ember 1930:116: Sem+Eg)//Omotic: Kafa *dew*- ‘(ap)portare; consignare, pagare; (ri)tornare’.

88. El(m) *duna*/i- ‘to give’ (HK 361–362)

AA \**d*[i]n->Sem: Akk (*i*)*din* ‘give!’, *nadānu*(m) ‘to give’, *tadānu* ‘to give (back)’, Hbr *nādān* ‘gift’, Arab *dūna*-ka ‘you have here, take!’, *dyn* ‘to give on credit’//Eg (Pyr) *wdn* ‘to make sacrifice’, Copt *wōten* id. (EG I:391; Vy 1983:239; Ember 1930:115: Akk+Eg)//? Chadic: (W) Ron: Sha *ndi* ‘to give’. Note: There is a voiceless variant in WSem: Hbr, OAram *ntn*, Ph, Ug *ym* ‘to give, pay’ (Aistleitner 1965:139–140).

89. El(m) *halpu*/i- ‘to beat, kill’, *halba* ‘died’ (HK 595–596, 605–607)

AA \**ḥ*-b-l>Sem \**ḥ*-b-l ‘to ruin, destroy’ (AHw 302; Ember 1930:81: Sem+Eg)//Eg (Pyr) *ḥb3* ‘to destroy’ (EG III:253).

90. El(o) *hani*- ‘(to) love’ (HK 616–618)

AA \**[a]n*->Sem \**ḥnn* ‘to grant, favour, long for’ (Aistleitner 1965:105)//Eg (Pyr) *ḥn* ‘to grant, favour’, Demotic *ḥn*, Copt *hne*-, *hna*- ‘to want’ (EG III:101; Vy 1983:519; Ember 1913:119: Sem+Eg)//? Cush: (E) Konso *heen*- ‘to want’, *heena* ‘love’

Dr \**a*ʔ-/\**a*ʔ- ‘love, friendship’ (DEDR 330; MA 97: El+Dr).

91. El(o) *hapu* ‘to hear’ (HK 578–579, 589–590, 622)

AA \**hub*->Cush: (E) \**hub*- ‘to know, be sure’, cf. Afar *-ob*- ‘to hear’ (Sa 1979:38, 40, 41); Dahalo *huō-a*ʔ- ‘to know’ (Eh 1980:336).

92. El(m/n) *hil*-/hul- ‘to rob, loot’ (HK 660, 673, 691)

AA \**ul*->Sem \**c*-w-l and \**ḡ*-w-l<Hbr *ʕalwā* ‘disobedience’, Arab *ʕāla* (*c*-w-l) ‘to deviate from the right course’, Geez *ʕalawa* ‘to rebel, distort, reject, pervert’ and Ug, OSA *ḡlyt* ‘wrath’, Arab *ḡ*-w-l ‘to take unexpectedly, destroy’ (Ls 1987:78)//Eg (OK) *ʕw3y* ‘to rob, steal; robber; one robbed’ and (MK) *ʕwn* ‘to rob, deceive’//Cush: (N) Beja *ol*, *ul* ‘to strike’; (E) \**ʕol*- ‘war’ (Do 1973:162; Black 1974:243; He 1978:99; Eh 1987:#492)

Dr \**ula*- ‘to become diminished, terminated, die, perish’ (DEDR 671) Sum *hul* ‘bad, evil; to ruin, destroy; enemy’ (IK 446–447). Note: There are hopeful cognates in IE: Hittite \**halla*-/*hallu*- ‘to lay waste, ruin, savage’, Greek *óllūmi* ‘I destroy’, Lat *ab-oleō* id. (Puhvel 1991:13–14, 49–50 reconstructs IE \**A*<sub>2</sub><sup>w</sup>*l*-n-, rejecting the connection with Hittite *hulla*-‘to smash, quash, defeat’—p.368).

93. El(m) *huma*- ‘to take, rob’ (HK 691–694)



- AA \**ḡVm*->Sem \**ḡ-m-y*>Akk *ḡamū* 'to immobilize, paralyze', Geez *ḡamaya* 'to tie, shackle, chain' (Ls 1987:262–263)//Eg (Pyr) *ḡm<sup>c</sup>* 'to seize' (Ember 1930:36: Sem+Eg) and/or Eg (Pyr) *ḡmy* 'to reach, touch, grasp' (EG III:281–282).
94. El(o) *hutta*- 'to work, make', (linear script) *hut* 'work'  
AA: Sem \**ḡ-t-?*>Akk *ḡar* 'to vanquish', Ug *ḡt?* 'to disappear', Arab *ḡataʔa*, *ḡa tā*, *ḡat!a* 'to be carried away' (Segert 1984:187).
95. El *kani*: (n) *kanira* 'friend', (A) *kani* 'I would like' (HK 431–432)  
AA \**k-h-n*>? Sem \**kāhin* 'priest, prophet, augur' (Ls 1987:278)// Cush: (N) Beja *kehan* 'to love, honor, venerate'; (C) Xamir (*i*)*ekan* 'to love, want', Awngi *ḡnkan*-id.; (E) Afar-Saho *kahan*- 'to love'  
? Dr \**kaḡi*- 'to ripen grow tender', cf. Tamil *kaḡivu* 'ripeness, love, compassion' (DEDR 1408). Note: The semantic dispersion is plausible, cf. Sem \**m-n-y* 'to love, desire, wish' and 'to count' (Ls 1987:352–353).
96. El(o) *kat* 'place, throne', (A) *kata/u*- 'to live' (HK 410, 452–454)  
AA \**kVt*->Cush: (N) Beja *keti* 'to seat, put together'; (S) Alagwa, Burunge *kiti* 'settlement'//Omoti: Chara *kot-it*-, Kafa *kot(e)*-, Mocha *kota*- 'to sit' (Do 1973:246).
97. El(o) *kul(l)a*- 'to ask, call' (HK 508, 560–562)  
AA \**q-w-l*>Sem \**q-w-l* 'to say, speak' (Ls 1987:426)//Cush: (N) Beja *kwalī* 'singing'; (E) Som *qayli* 'to cry, shout', Yaaku -*qēel*- 'to sing'; (S) Qwadza *kwaʔ aliko* 'voice'; ? Mbugu -*kaláʔe* 'to shout' (Eh 1980: 268, 1987:#513)//Chadic: (E) Jegu *kol*- 'to name, call', ? Gabin *gual* 'to speak'.
98. El(n) *kuni-/kini*- 'to become, realize' (HK 477–478, 515, 564)  
AA \**k-w-n* (Co: #196)>Sem \**k-w-n* 'to be, become' (Ls 1987:299–300) //Cush: (C) Bilin *k<sup>w</sup>în* 'to be, exist'; (E) Afar-Saho *kii(n)* id.//Berb: Ahaggar *eken* 'to do, arrange'.
99. El(o) *kura*- 'to burn, roast' (HK 518–519)  
AA \**kawr*->Sem \**kawr*- 'stove, furnace' (Ls 1987:300)//Cush: (LE) \**kar*- 'to boil' (Do 1983:134: Sem+ECush).
100. El(o) *kusi-/kuši*- 'to build, bear (children)' (HK 538–539, 541)  
AA \**k[u]s*->Cush: (N) Beja *kwsī* 'to mean; make, create', *kwāsa* 'heritage'//Berb: Shilh imper. *kkas*, fact. *yḡkkus*, Ahaggar *kusāt*: *yḡkkus* 'to inherit' (Rössler 1964:206: Beja+Berb).
101. El(n) *kuti*- 'to carry, bring' (HK 505, 546–547)  
AA \**guty*->Cush: (C) Xamir *g<sup>w</sup>it*- 'to pull'; (LE) \**giit*- id. (He 1978:83; Do 1973:245).
102. El(o) *li*- 'to give; gift' (HK 818, 820–821, 826–828)  
AA \**li*->? Sem: Arab (Taʿiizz) *mā ʔallōs* 'there is not', Amhara *ʔall*- 'to be' (Co: #20)//Cush: (C) Qwara *lee* 'to give'; (E) \**leh*- 'having' (Sa 1979:41; Do 1973:164–165)<\**li-hay* 'to be by'?; cf. Afar-Saho -*ell*- 'to come to have, possess', Elmolo *li* 'to possess'; (S) Qwadza *loʔ*- 'to give' (Eh 1980:388)//Chadic: (C) Logone *lii* 'to be'; (E) Mokilko *ēl*- 'to give'//Berb: Ahaggar *āl*: *yḡla* (\**l*-ʔ-*y*) 'to have, possess' (Rössler 1964:207: Som+Berb).
103. El(o) *muri*- 'to grasp', (A) *ma rri*/\**m[o]rri*- 'to seize, hold, occupy' (Hallock 1969:726; HK 885, 905, 953)  
AA \**mVr*->Cush: (N) Beja *meri* 'to take, get, find, seize', *maray* 'to take, rob'; (HE)

- \**moor-* ‘to steal’ (Hudson 1989:143); ? (S) Mbugu *mmarú* ‘load’ (Eh 1980:154).
104. El(m) *mirri-* ‘to smear’ (HK 923, 935)  
 AA \**mVr-*>Sem: Arab *m-r-*<sup>h</sup> ‘to smear’/? Eg (OK) *mr<sup>h</sup>.t* ‘fat’ (EG II:111), if it is not derived from *wr<sup>h</sup>* ‘to smear’ (EG I:334)//Cush: (E) \**moor-* ‘fat, sealing-wax’ (Sa 1982:147)//Chadic: (W) \**ma/iwra* ‘fat, butter’ (St 233)  
 Dr \**mer-* ‘to smear, rub’ (DEDR 4709) and/or \**me<sup>h</sup>uk-* ‘to smear, plaster; wax’ (DEDR 5082).
105. El(m) *na-* ‘to say’ (HK 975, 981, 990)  
 AA \**nV*>Chadic: (W) Fyer *ne*, Bokkos *ni* ‘to say’; Sura *nēē*; Bolewa *nī na*, Tangale *nēē*; SBauchi: Burrum *ne*, Kir *no* id. (St 235).
106. El(m) *nī-* ‘to be’ (HK 1000–1100; Hallock 1969:738)  
 AA?: Sem: Arab ?*inn*, ?*anniya* ‘I’être’, Amhara *na-* ‘copula’, Gafat *yān-* ‘to be’ (Co: #445)//Cush: (C) Bilin, Qwara *en*, Dembea *in* ‘to be’; (E) Afar-Saho *na* id.//Chadic: (W) Hausa *na*, *ne* ‘is, are, was, were’.
107. El(n) *para/i-* ‘to go; arrive, come; draw, pull’ (HK 146, 149)  
 AA \**s-p-r* (with the causative prefix \**s-* ?)>Sem: Akk *šapāru* ‘to send’, Arab *sāfara* ‘to travel’ (Albright 1927:228: Sem+Eg)//Eg(Pyr) *spr* ‘to come, arrive, reach’ (EG IV:102)  
 Dr \**pari-* ‘to run, go out, move’ (DEDR 3963; MA 104: El+Dr).
108. El(m) *suku-* ‘to destroy, exterminate’ (HK 1102)  
 AA \**su<sup>k</sup>-* or \**saw<sup>k</sup>-*—?>Cush: (C) Bilin *suuk-*, Xamir *sooq-/sawq-* ‘to kill (cattle)’; (E) \**šoq-* ‘to beat, hit’ (Sa 1979:33)//Omoti: Zala, Chara, Yemsa *šuk-*, Kafa *šuk(k)-* ‘to kill (cattle)’ (Do 1973:115).

### Pronouns

The correspondences between the sets of Elamite and Dravidian pronouns and nominal and verbal personal endings belong to the most convincing in McAlpin’s demonstration of their genetic relationship. Let’s confront these systems with the Afroasiatic one (see Tables 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3). The empty cells represent forms which are unreconstructable for more than one branch of Afroasiatic.

It is evident that some pronominal stems and even fragments of complete paradigms correspond. These cognates can be completed by other pronominal roots:

109. El(m) *akka* ‘that, which’ (rel.) (HK 37)  
 AA \*?*ak(k)-*>Sem: Akk *akkā?*, Hbr ?*ēk*, Aram ?*akam* ‘how’, ?*aka* ‘why’, Ug *ik*, Mehri *ūkō* id.//Cush: (E) Oromo *aka* ‘like’, *akka* ‘that, in order to; like’//Omoti: Yemsa *akka* ‘thus, how?’//Chadic: (W) Ngamo *aka* ‘how’; SBauchi: Guruntum *akwaa* ‘who’, *akaa* ‘what’, Geji *yèk* id.; (C) Ngala *yaku* ‘who’.
110. El(A) *-be: hu-be* ‘that’ (‘jenes, das’) where *hu-* corresponds to mEl *hu/i* ‘this, dies’ (HK 654, 676, 681)  
 AA \**bV*>Cush: (N) Beja nom. *bē -n*, acc. *bē-b* ‘that’//Omoti: Shinasha *bi/bo*, Kafa *bi/bonoosi* ‘sg./pl. of demonstr. stem’, Yemsa *baas/bar/baas* m./f./pl. id.

**Table 2.1** Middle Elamite pronouns and nominal and verbal personal endings

	<i>nom.- dat.</i>	<i>accusative</i>	<i>genitive</i>	<i>possessive</i>	<i>verbal</i>	<i>nominal</i>	<i>A=Achaem.</i>
sg 1	u	un	(A) unina/i	(A) u-ri	-h	-k	-ki/-ka
		(A) unan(-ku)	(A) u				
2	(o) ni/nu	nun		(A) -ni	-t	-t	-ti
3	ir	ir		-e	-š	-r	-ra
		(A) hi	(A) ir/in		(A) -e(-ri)		
	dat. (A) ha-						
	dat. kaš						
pl 1	nuku/nika		(A) nukami	-nika	-hu	(?) -unka	-un
2	num/nun				-hti		
3	api	apin/apun		-api-e	-hši	-p	-pi/-pa
				(A) -pini			

Source: McAlpin (1981) and Grillot-Susini (1987)

**Table 2.2** Dravidian (\*)/Brahui pronouns and nominal and verbal personal endings

	<i>nominative</i>	<i>oblique</i>	<i>possessive</i>	<i>appellative</i>	<i>verbal</i>	<i>Brahui</i>
sg 1	*yā <sub>u</sub> /í	*ya <sub>u</sub> /kan	*y-/ka	*-en	*-ku	-v, -r, - <sub>u</sub>
2	*ni( <sub>u</sub> )/nī	*ni <sub>u</sub> /nē	*ñ-/ne	*-i & *-ay	*-ti	-s
3	*tā <sub>u</sub> /tēn	*ta <sub>u</sub> /tēn	*t-/te	m.*-a <sub>u</sub> rə n. *-(a)t	*-a <sub>u</sub> rə	-k, -e, -s
pl 1 in	*nām/nam	*nam/nam		*-a <sub>u</sub>	*-t-a <sub>u</sub>	-n
1 ex	*yām	*yam		*-em	*-t-um	
2	*nīm/num	*nim/num		*-ir	*-t-ir	-r
3	*tām/tēn	*tam/tēn	/-tā	mf. *-ar n.*-av	*-ar *-ap	-r, -s, -ō

Source: McAlpin (1981) and Andronov (1980)

**Table 2.3** Afroasiatic pronouns and nominal and verbal personal endings

	<i>subject</i>	<i>absolutive</i>	<i>dative</i>	<i>accusative</i>	<i>perfect</i>	<i>imperfect</i>
sg 1	*(?an-)?aku	*ya/*yi/*yu	*yiwāši	*yiwāti	*-ku	*?a
2m	*(?an-)ta	*ku	*kuwāši	*kuwāti	*-ta	*ti-
2f	*(?an-)ti	*ki	*kiyāši	*kiyāti	*-ti	*ti-
3m	*šuwa	*šu	*šuwāši	*šuwāti	*-a	*yi-
3f	*šiya	*ši	*šiyāši	*šiyāti	*-at	*yi-/*ti
pl 1 inclusive	*(?an-)muni	*na/*ni/*nu			*-na	*ni-
1 exclusive	*(?an-) bina/u					
2m	*(?an-)tunwa	*kunwa			*-tunwu	*ti-...-ū
2f	*(?an-)tinya	*kinya			*-tinya	*ti-...-na
3m	*šunwa	*šunwa				
3f	*šinya	*šinya				

Source: Blažek (1995)

111. El(m) *-ka /i* ‘I am (now)’ (HK 459, 464–465)

AA *\*?aku* and *\*?an-?aku* ‘I’, *\*-ku* ‘1sg perf.’

Dr *\*-ku* ‘1sg of verbal conjugation’, cf. Brahui *kan* ‘me’ and *-ka* ‘my’ (Tables 2.1, 2.2, 2.3).

112. El(A) *kaš* ‘him’ (dat.) (HK 418, 450)

AA *\*kV>Cush: (C) \*-y<sup>w</sup>: \*la-y<sup>w</sup> m. vs. \*la-ti f. ‘one’; (E) \*ku (subj.), \*ka (acc.) ‘this’ (Sa 1982:111)/Omotoc: Ari *koona* ‘this’: *koona-see* ‘that’. Note: El *-š* can be a relic of old dative appearing in such forms as *\*yiwaaši*, *\*kuwaaši* (Sem: Akk and Eblaic; C+HECush—see Blažek 1991).*

113. El(o/m) *ni/nu* ‘thou’ (HK 996, 1004, 1006)

AA: NOmot *\*ni(-ni)* (subj.), *\*ni(-na)* (obj.) ‘thou’

Dr *\*ni(𐎎)* ‘thou’ etc. (see Table 2.3).

114. El(o/m) *nika/nuku* ‘we, us’ (HK 1000, 1003, 1008, 1011), where *-ka/u* can correspond to *-ka/i* ‘I (am)’ or with *-ku* in (A) *unan-ku* ‘me here’; (A) *-un* ‘ending of 1pl of nominal conjugation’

AA *\*na/\*ni/\*nu* ‘we, us, our’ etc. (see Table 2.3)

Dr *nām* ‘we’, cf. Brahui *-n* ‘verbal ending of 1pl’.

115. El(A) *hi-su* ‘he self’ (HK 669), cf. *hi* ‘this’

AA: Cush: (C) Qwara *išuu*, Bilin, Xamir *šuu* ‘self’; (E) *\*?is-* ‘self’ (Sa 1979:34, 35, 1982:107).

116. El(m) *-š* ‘ending of 3sg of verbal conjugation’

AA *\*šuwa* ‘he’, *\*šiya* ‘she’ etc. (see above)

Dr: Brahui -s ‘verbal ending of 3sg’.

**Table 2.4** Preliminary phonetic correspondences

<i>Afroasiatic</i>	<i>Elamite</i>	<i>Numbers of entries</i>
*b	b	2, 16, 22, 26, 42, 43, 51, 61, 84, 85, 110
	p	14, (26), 39, 41, 44, 47, 57, 71, 89, 91
*p	P	6, 7, 27, 58, 63, 107
*d	d	52, 54, 76, 86 (d/t), 87, 88
	t	6, 14, 19, 39, 53, 58
*t	t	13, 74, 96, 117
*t̥	t/-tt-	59, (74)/5
*ʃ	z	30
*č		
*č̥		
*dʒʹ	s/-z	8, 79/67
*c	z	60?
*č		
*ĉ		
*t̪	s	65
*s	s	9, 38 (s/š), 73, 100?, 108
	š	11, 12, 62, 72
*š	š	112, 116
*ṣ		
*g	g	20, 51
	k	47, 68, 83
*k	k	36, 55, 56, 80, 95, 96, 98, 99, 100, 108, 111
*k̥	k/-kk-	3, 4, 97/84
*ġ	h	27, 92?
*h̥	h	15, 18, 28, 40, 45, 47, 89, 93, 94
*c	h/-Ø-	19, 46, 54, 62, 65, 67, 92/86
*h̥	h	9, 77, 90
*h	h	33, 34, 50, 91

*?	Ø	1, 15, 17, 20, 21, 31, 40, 44, 50, 75, 78, 109
*y		
*w	m	24, 69, 81?
*m	m	5, 23, 25, 48, 52, 55, 66, 70, 74, 75, 93, 103, 104
*n	n	2, 8, 23, 26, 31, 35, 48, 78, 88, 90, 95, 98, 106, 113, 114
*l	l	1, 16, 22, 24, 32, 33, 36, 37, 45, 46, 57, 59, 66, 69, 92, 97, 102
*r	r	4, 7, 11, 17, 28, 34, 42, 56, 63, 68, 70, 72, 73, 85, 99, 103, 104

*Note:* The borrowed cuneiform orthography does not differentiate voiced and voiceless stops (cf. Hittite).

# 117. El(m) -t ‘ending of 2sg of verbal and nominal conjugation’

AA *\*ti* and *\*ta* ‘pronoun and ending of 2sg’ (see Table 2.3)

Dr *\*-t* ‘ending of 2sg of verbal conjugation’.

# 118. El(o) *u*, (A) *hu* ‘I, me’ (HK 676, 1195)

AA *\*[?]y<sub>w</sub>* ‘personal pronoun of 1sg’>Sem (Akk and Eblaic) *\*y[iw]ā-si/ti* ‘dat./acc. of indirect case of a pronoun of 1sg’//Eg *ꜥw*, (later) *wy* ‘I’ (dependent series)//Cush *\*yi/\*yu* ‘object case of a pronoun of 1sg’//Chadic: (W) Hausa *-wa* ‘possessive pronoun of 1sg’; (C) Kotoko *\*nta-wu* (indep.), *\*[?]wu* (obj.), *\*-wu* (poss.), Gidar-*wu* (poss.), Musgu *\*-u* id.; (E) Sokoro *-u*, Mokilk *-o* id.//Berb *\*íw* ‘pronoun of 1sg of indirect object (simple)’, *\*ū/w* (compound)

Dr: Brahui *î* ‘I’ and/or *-v* ‘verbal ending of 1sg’.

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## REFERENCES

Within the appendices, some authors whose works are referred to repeatedly have had their names—or the name of their work—abbreviated for ease of reference as follows:

CO	Cohen 1947
DEDR	Burrow and Emeneau 1934
Do	Dolgopolsky
EG	Erman and Grapow 1971
Eh	Ehret

Fa	Faulkner 1981
He	Heine
HK	Hinz and Koch
IK	Hübner and Reizammer 1985
Ls	Leslau
MA	McAlpin 1981
Sa	Sasse
St	Stolbova 1987
Vy	Vycichl
Wo	Woelfel 1965

In addition, the following abbreviations have been used to refer to some publications:

AAL	<i>Afroasiatic Linguistics</i>
AHw	<i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch, I–III</i> , W.von Soden (ed.). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1965–81.
AION	<i>Annali di Istituto orientale di Napoli</i> .
IF	<i>Indogermanische Forschungen</i> .
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near East Studies</i>
LRDIV	<i>Lingvističeskaja rekonstrukcija i drevnejšaja istorija Vostoka</i> . Moscow: Institut vostokovedenija/Nauka.
MeE	<i>Mesopotamie et Elam. Actes de la XXXVIème Rencontre assyriologique internationale</i> (Ghent 1989). University of Ghent 1991.
RHA	<i>Revue hittite et asiatique</i> .
ZÄ	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i> .
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift für Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> .
ZES	<i>Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen Sprachen</i> .

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